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ABSTRACT

The United States has been through anti-immigration movements every few decades since its founding. A new face of the anti-immigration movement can be seen emerging from current events including: (1) California's Proposition 187, under which illegal immigrants are barred from public education and teachers are required to report illegal immigrants and their children to authorities; (2) House of Representatives welfare reform initiatives including student financial aid cuts and cuts in job training; and (3) various ordinances making English the official language. An important aspect of the current anti-immigration sentiment is opposition to Hispanic and Asian immigrants, as opposed to Anglo Saxon immigrants. This focus on non-Anglo immigrants underlies a larger conflict based on socioeconomic disparity, with children and their education often getting caught in the middle. The confused politics of liberals and conservatives as they address immigration and related issues, such as affirmative action in university admissions policies, contribute to the present opposition to immigration. It is argued that these new aspects tend to weaken the traditional perspectives of race and ethnicity, but tend to strengthen those based on economics or social class. The end of the unifying force of the Cold War has paved the way for these kinds of social and political attitudes. (Contains 27 refrences.) (Author/SLD)

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Anti-Immigration Movements in the 1990s:

A New Perspective in the Post Cold War

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Abstract

Considering the well-known history that the United States has been through anti-immigration movements every few decades or so since the founding of the Republic, the current anti-immigrant flares best symbolized by California Proposition 187, the House welfare reforms and ordinances making English the official language appear to have demonstrated a new face of the American conflict between "haves and have-nots" in a land of opportunities. This paper is to shed light upon unique aspects of the present anti-immigration movements in the U.S. in the context of the end of the Cold War:(1) the dominant population of Asians and Latinos as opposed to that of Anglo-Saxons; (2) the strange politics of confused liberals and conservatives dealing with immigration; and, (3) ineffective unifying power of nationalism which was almost always confounded with anti-Sovietism/Communism, historically speaking. The author argues that these unique aspects of the current anti-immigration movements tend to weaken the traditional perspective on various conflicts based on race and ethnicity, but instead strengthen the socio-economic based- or class-based perspective for their solutions. Psychologists have known the relationship between socio-economic factors and hatred, prejudice, victimization of others, particularly minorities and outgroup members. The end of the Cold War has paved the way for such a direction.

Anti-Immigration Movements in the 1990s: A New Perspective in the Post Cold War

Choichiro Yatani, Ph.D.

1. Anti-Immigration Movements in the Nation of Immigrants

Do we have to remind ourselves of and agree again to the very truth that America is a nation of immigrants? Such a question would instantly draw a horse laugh. Speaking from the American principle, it can be hardly justifiable that "Americans," all of whom used to be immigrants, refuse the entry of "new immigrants." The present America, especially that of the 1990s, however, has been witnessing various anti-immigrant movements: Best symbolized by California Proposition 187, the House welfare reforms and ordinances making English the official language, they are the local and national political issues, especially so in the year of Presidential and Congressional elections.

Under California Proposition 187, approved in 1994 with a margin of 3 for and 2 against, illegal immigrants are barred from public school education(despite unconstitutionality determined by the Supreme Court though) and access to non emergency public health services. The law also requires public officers including school teachers to report illegal immigrants and their children to authorities. Such measures were believed by the majority of Californians to save money, secure jobs, and recover a safer environment--towns and cities with fewer crimes. The Republican Governor

Pete Wilson's big triumph, the one who tirelessly pursued the "anti-immigrant" proposition in California which holds most electoral votes for the presidential election to come in two years, did reinforce the same and similar anti-immigrant sentiments in other states(e.g., Texas and New York) and Washington D.C.(cf. The Los Angeles Times, Nov. 10, 1994).

In concert with what the media buzz the "Republican revolution" and the "fear and anger of the white middle class in America," politicians in the nation's capital have been engaged themselves in two aggressive measures toward two groups: the poor in welfare, on one hand; and the underprivileged immigrants, legal or illegal, on the other hand. New immigration laws voted in the House in March and in the Senate in May in this year of federal elections intend to stymie those trying to illegally enter the U.S. and make earning a living more difficult for those who have already entered. Not just more Border Patrol agents, more and longer fences and other barriers, under the new laws, non-citizens(i.e., both illegal and legal immigrants) are limited in access to federal benefits (e.g., welfare, student financial aid, aid for job training). According to Senator Alan K. Simpson, R-Wyo., chief sponsor of the bill, "We have brought forth significant changes in legal and illegal immigration that are rather sweeping. This issue is about America, and America is about conflict and resolution. It's about these things that pull and tear at us"(The Buffalo News, May 3, 1996, A1 and A4). Patrick J. Buchanan, a strong contender to Bob Dole in the Republican Presidential nomination, has been quite suc-

cessful in his campaigns by attributing the sources of many of our problems to the poor in welfare and people from abroad. He once appealed to a crowd in Waterloo, Iowa, "I will build that security fence, and we'll close it, and we'll say, 'Listen Josè, you 're not coming in!'"[The New York Times, March 3, 1996, Section 4(14)]. During his campaign across the country, the former speechwriter for Presidents Nixon and Reagan continued attacking Mexicans, Cubans, Chinese, Koreans, and other Asians including Japanese as those responsible for job losses, the huge national trade and budgetary deficits, poverty, broken families and collapse of welfare, moral degeneracy and crimes on streets---the national crisis with the fear and anger of American middle class and working people. To save tax money, secure jobs, and recover safer cities, the current local and national politics since the 1992 elections suggest, immigrants and the flux of foreigners have become one of the primary obstacles for a better-off America. Moreover, reflecting the long history of Americans' anti-Communism/anti-Russians, it appears, immigrants have become the Americans' new enemy, replacing Communist Russians.

True, the current anti-immigration movements in America demonstrate its long history of the "American conflict," as Sen. Simpson also agreed somewhere. The history and data available, however, the conflict and its solutions are not what the chief sponsor of the anti-immigrant bill and others including Presidential candidate Buchanan preached. They are instead a new breed of scapegoat which the nation of immigrants has been through since the founding

of the Republic. This paper is intended to shed light upon three quite distinctive characteristics of the current anti-immigration movements in the 1990s and suggest a new perspective for conflict resolution, but at the same time the old one from a viewpoint of the post Cold War, however. The author does consider the present, wide spread anti-immigrant sentiments and politics distinctively unique from the previous ones by the following aspects:

(a) the dominant immigrants are Latinos and Asians as opposed to that of Anglo-Saxons almost a century ago;

(b) the current immigration issues are not traditional partisan politics(i.e., Democrats vs. Republicans or liberals vs. conservatives); and,

(c) the post Cold War weakened the power of American nationalism to unify the peoples with different riches, religions, languages, skin colors, and customs, an extremely powerful, effective one as "anti-Soviet/ Communism," historically speaking.

Not only is the uniqueness likely to prove the rejection of immigrants an ineffective solution for the present nation's socio-economic problems but also to uncover that "the latest conflict defined by money, welfare and race"(cf. Glazer, 1995) requires its solutions based on not race or the disenfranchised, but the "un-American" magnitude of socio-economic disparity between "haves and have-nots."

2. Mishaps of New Immigrants before the Melting Pot

Is America a unified nation without ethnic rivalries? Hardly has it been so since the foundation of the Republic. Rather,

what the New York University Sociologist Richard Sennett(1996) says is true:

> "... First, it[the racial, ethnic and sexual zealotry] looks back on an America that never existed. From the beginning, American society has been fragmented by differences of wealth, religions and languages, as well as by the conflicts between slave and nonslave states. The waves of immigration after the Civil War did not break apart a unified nation; they added new diversities to old divisions."(OP-ED 3)

It is fair to say that there have been few new immigrants who have never experienced any type of antagonism or even subtle stiff from old immigrants already settled down who are not in their same race or ethnic backgrounds. Historians and novelists often described such lives of immigrants: stories of America are almost always those of immigrants' social struggles as well as of adventures. After awarded the Nobel Prize in literature for Travel with Charley: In search of America in 1962, Steinbeck(1966) inspected "America and Americans" of their national characteristics, political system and racial problems which he considered "subtle and deadly illness"(p. 137). On the racial problems, the Nobel laureate observed his country:

> "From the first we have treated our minorities abominably, the way the old boy do the new kids in school. All that was required to release this mechanism of oppression and sadism was that the newcomers be meek, poor, weak in number, and unprotected--although it helped if their skin, hair, eyes were different and if they spoke some language other than English or worshiped in some church other than Protestant. The Pilgrim Fathers took out after the Catholics, and both clobbered the Jews. The Irish had their turn running the gauntlet, and after them the Germans, the Poles, the Slovaks, the Italians, the Hindus, the Chinese, the Japanese, the Filipi-

nos, the Mexicans. To all these people we gave disparaging names: Micks, Sheenies, Krauts, Dagos, Wops, Ragheads, Yellow-bellies, and so forth The turn against each group continued until it became sound, solvent, self-defensive, and economically anonymous--whereupon each group joined the older boys and charged down on the newest ones."(p. 15)

The Columbia University Historian Alan Brinkley, among others who documented the vicissitudes of Americans' unfavorable attitudes toward "new" immigrants, did point out several anti-immigration measures in his 1993 book, The Unfinished Nation:

(1) The Alien Act of 1798 in which the President was given the authority to expel aliens, mostly Germans suffered from their economic conditions and the Irish troubled with successive potato crop failures, who the already settled Americans feared posed a threat to national security;

(2) The nativist movements in the middle of the 1800s where the cry of "America for Americans" advocated anti-Catholics, attempted to prevent further arrivals of Catholics and racially identifiable groups and developed into the Know-Nothing Party;

(3) The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, laws that were amended several times to apply to Japanese and other Asians later under Americans' accusation that they drove wages to a substandard level and took away jobs from white Americans;

(4) During the Great Depression, "perhaps half a million Chicanos were forced to leave the country[U.S.] by officials arbitrarily removed them from relief rolls or simply rounded them up and transported them across the border..."(p. 661) because those Mexican-Americans and Mexicans took jobs that "blacks had traditionally filled...or unemployed whites would take [in the economic difficulty]"(p. 661); and,

(5) the Immigration Act of 1965 under the Johnson administration that "maintained a strict limit on the number of newcomers admitted to the country each year(170,000), but it eliminated the 'national origins' system established in 1920s, which gave preference to immigrants from northern Europe over those from other parts of the world."(p. 810)

A 1980 report of the United States Commission on Civil Rights also

confirmed such discriminatory treatments of the new immigrants by the old immigrants. Furthermore, the nation of immigrants has more stories to be told about African-Americans and native Americans: the former is those brought to America against their will; and, the latter is those who were deprived of their lands and opportunities by the "new" immigrants. it may be even a myth to emphasize that "we are 'E Pluribus Unum'"(cf. Sennett, 1994).

3. Hispanics, Asians, and the New Immigration

Following the 1965 Immigration Act, America had more immigrants from the Latin America and Asia than Europe. As recent as the year of 1994, the Census Bureau reported that the foreign-born population of the U.S. reached 22.6 million people--8.7 percent of the total population--the highest proportion since the Second World War. The Washington Post(August 29, 1995) reported that the largest group of foreign-born came from Mexico, more than 6.2 million, with the Philippines next at 1 million and that the number from Cuba, El Salvador, Canada, Germany, China, the Dominican Republic, Korea, Vietnam and India ranges from 494,000 to 805,000. As seen in the Figure 1 below from Immigration and Naturalization Service (in The New York Times, April 23, 1995, E 3), the influx of European immigrants decreased since the turn of the century while the number of Latin American and Asian immigrants increased after the 1960s. It is now predicted that by the early twenty-first century , whites of European heritage will constitute less than fifty percent of the American population. This "most striking

demographic change in America in the 1970s and 1980s, the one

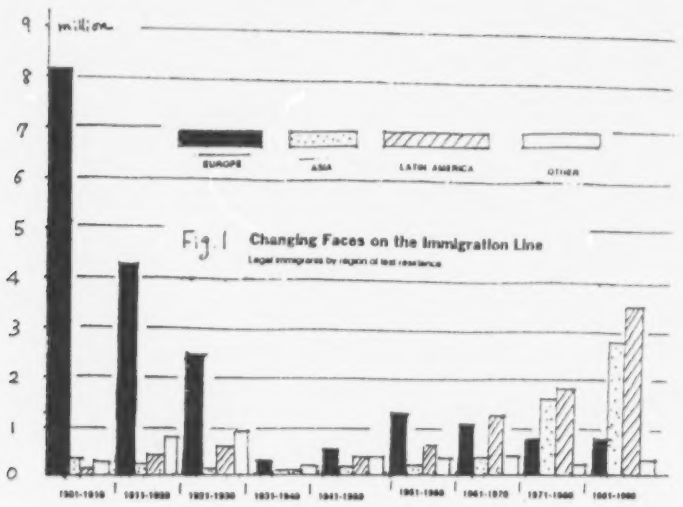

Fig. 1 Changing Faces on the Immigration Line

likely to have the farthest-reaching consequences, was the enormous change in both the extent and the character of immigration" (Brinkley, 1993, p. 898). Psychologically speaking, the U.S. began witnessing a change in race relations: the traditional dichotomy of "white vs. black" in racism started changing.

Both whites and blacks feared Asian competition in economic activities. For example, The states of Texas, Louisiana and Mississippi observed disputes over shrimping between Vietnamese and white fishermen on the Gulf Coast. New York City became tense in 1990 when African-Americans organized a boycott of Korean grocery stores. In the 1992 Los Angeles riot, confrontations were seen not only between whites and blacks but also among minority members. Frey and Tilove(1995) reported a new, larger form of white flight from metropolitan areas like New York, Chicago, Los Angeles,

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Houston and Boston because foreigners[Asians and Hispanics] took white place. They considered the greater minority immigration of Asians and Hispanics as "Balkanization" supplanting the old image of immigrant assimilation.

Resentment of Asian-Americans may have been fed by the widespread admiration of the their academic and business success (Brinkley, 1993; Weisberger, 1994; see also Hing & Lee, 1996). The last two decades witnessed the rise of Asian economic power represented by Japan, Korea, the Republic of China, Hong Kong and Singapore and also much better school performance of Asian and Asian-American children than that of American counterparts(both white and black students), which led to a heated, so-called "nature vs. nurture" dispute over academic achievement(e.g., Rushton, 1988; see Yatani, 1994, for a summary; see also a controversy about the book, The Bell Curve by Herrnstein & Murray, 1994). Many of "over-achieving" Asian-American students started questioning affirmative action in California where prestigious universities(e.g., Universities of California at Berkeley and Los Angeles) enrolled "too many" Asian-Americans and tried to use affirmative action to deny their enrollment. At UC at Berkeley, Asian-Americans are expected to constitute more than 51% of its 1996 undergraduate freshman class. Black Americans tended to be afraid of those Asian-Americans and Hispanics, believing that their gains in material assistance and socio-economic opportunities are made at their expense that were historically assumed for black Americans(Brinkley, 1993; Weisberger, 1994; Onishi, 1996).

While nearly 40 million(approximately 15%) Americans were poor at the poverty level of $14,763 for a family of four in 1993, Asian-Americans had the highest median household income at $38,347, followed by white, $32,960; Hispanics, $22,886; and blacks, $19,532 (The Buffalo News, October 7, 1994, pp. A1, A5). The poverty rate for African-Americans was 33.1%; Hispanics, 30.6%; Asians, 15.3%; and whites, 12.2%. However, most poor people were white. This trend of economic disparity in Americans is expected to continue.

The new immigration of Hispanics and Asians can be said to add new diversities to old divisions. In other words, it can be said to make America more divided and more complexed than before. From an international point of view, however, America is becoming more like the world where eighty percent of the population are colored people while twenty percent are white. And, traditional perspectives and paradigms on race issues in America("whites vs. blacks, for example) are required to change.

4. Race, Scapegoat, and the Strange Politics with the New Immigration

The politics of California Proposition 187 demonstrated exactly such changes. It is safe to say, historically speaking, that Democrats were pro-immigration while Republicans were anti-immigration(with the help of the Know-Nothings in 1854, for example, the newly established Republican party won enough seats in Congress to be able to organize the House of Representatives). Despite the Republican Governor Wilson's key agenda for his re-election, Jack F. Kemp and William Bennett who held cabinet posts

in the Republican Reagan Presidency strongly opposed the Proposition. They argued that "... But concerns about illegal immigration should not give rise to a series of fundamentally flawed, constitutionally questionable 'solution,' which are not consonant with our history. For some, immigrants have become a popular political and social scapegoat"(Facts on File, 54(No. 2815), 1994, p. 837).

Some labor unions and their political representatives in the Capital Hill(Democrat House Minority Leader Richard A. Gephardt, for example) want to restrict immigration because they believe immigration stagnates income, depress wages, and take jobs from American workers. Other labor unions including the American Federation of Teachers(Albert Shanker, President) are against Proposition 187. Pointing out that "The usual ideological lines and labels don't mean much here[the immigration debate]," Holmes(1995) reported a summary of "the strange politics of immigration":

* Patrick J. Buchanan, the conservative commentator and Republican Presidential candidate and Senator Dianne Feinstein, the California Democrat are against free immigration;

* Representative Robert K. Dornan who is the gay-bashing California Republican and Representative Barney Frank who is the Massachusetts Democrat and openly homosexual support free immigration;

* The liberal American Civil Liberty Union and conservative National Rifle Association made allies against a national identification card;

* The Home School Network, a Christian fundamentalist group, considers strict immigration laws as "anti-family" while the National Council of La Raza, a civil rights

organization, views hostility to immigration as racist. They work together against the proposals to end or tighten immigration.

These are some of many strange political coalitions over immigration. There may be as many allies and coalitions as the ethnic/race diversities(see Holmes, 1995, for further inquiry about people and organizations lining up on immigration).

Such a confusing deviation from the traditional partisan politics and liberal-conservative ideological lines over immigration speaks its unique aspects. It is not necessarily race that divides California's state politics and American national politics. Some-other issues concerned Americans. What Californian voters thought were most important for their voting in 1994 were illegal immigration(41%), crime(32%), taxes(27%), education(22%), health care(13%) and ethics in government(13%), according to a Los Angeles Times statewide exit poll(The Los Angeles Times, Nov. 10, 1994, p. B2). Although illegal immigration was the Californians' highest concern, a national opinion survey by the Gallup Poll(The Gallup Poll Monthly, No. 347, 1994, p. 17) found it(only 1%!) not as important as other issues: crime(30%), economy/unemployment(23%), health care (21%), ethics and moral decline(11%). (Note:The infamous O.J. Simpson case happened on June 12, 1994, which, it seems, was considered to get a tremendous attention and concern on crime both in California and across the country.) Then, why did Californians pass Proposition 187? And why did immigration become a national, big political agenda subsequently?

A careful analysis of the voting data tends to indicate that

the majority of Californians wanted to send their messages of anger, worries, frustration about many problems facing California. Immigrants, it appears, became "a popular and social scapegoat" for those problems as Republican leaders Kemp and Bennett proclaimed against their Republican colleagues and other anti-immigration groups. The Los Angeles Times poll reported the following intriguing results under the approval of Proposition 187:

* 63% of the voters think things in California are seriously off on the wrong track while 37% think they are generally going in the right direction;

* one out of 2(49%) think Prop. 187 sends a message that needs to be sent and one out of three(32%) agree it will force the federal government to face the issue; but, one out of three(29%) believe it's poorly written and does not solve the problem;

* 20% of the voters think it will stop immigrants from using state services; but, 13% think it could create a health crisis;

* 19% of those voting think it would save the state millions of dollars.

* Among those voting for 187, only one percent think it is racist/anti-Latino while seventy-eight percent think it sends a message that needs to be sent and thirty-two percent think it would save the state millions of dollars; and,

* Among those voting against 187, 40% think it would throw children out of school, 60% think it is poorly written and does not solve the problem, and 39% think it is racist/anti-Latino.

Overall, it can be said that those for 187 thought it would make the state economically better off so that they would sent a message to state and national leaders while those against 187 thought it would bring more problems rather than solve the problem. The pro-

ponents thought they were not racist; but, the opponents thought the supporters of 187 were racist. The Times poll also reported the votes based on ethnicity/race: 63% of white, 47% of black and 47% of Asian voters were for the Proposition and 23% of Latino voters were in favor of it. It was virtually Latinos who were strongly against 187, in other words. If the supporters for 187 were racist, more than half of the white, Asian and black voters could be said racists! Although nobody wants to be called a racist, it appears, actually many of the 187 supporters did not intend or mean strongly to hurt or kick illegal immigrants out of the country of immigrants: immediately after the midterm election with the passage of Proposition 187, the Los Angeles City Council voted not to enforce most of its provisions. What Katie Leishman, a national correspondent for the Atlantic Monthly said may be true: "... Californians really hadn't meant to enact what they did... [It meant] 'We only wanted to scare you'"(p. A29). Consequently, a simple question should be raised:is it true that immigrants pose a serious threat to California, other states, and the country?

As seen previously, the Gallup Poll national opinion survey did not support such a notion on immigrants. When asked that "what do you think is the most important problem facing this country today?," the percentages of the respondents who mentioned immigration/illegal aliens were only one in January of 1994, one in January of 1995, and one again in January of 1996. It is safe to conclude that immigration has never been a big national political issue as far as the national public are concerned. If it became a

heated issue, it can be suspected if it was created for some reason(s). Considering from the strange political coalitions between liberals and conservatives, the divisions in Republican conservative leaders, and the analyses of the votes regarding Proposition 187, it is possible to conclude that the anti-immigration flares were created. The following facts contradict and discredit what the pro-187 voters claimed and reinforce the conspiracy view to make immigrants a scapegoat:

(1) In the amount of $227 billion spent a year for educating all children in the U.S., local, state and Federal Governments spend about $11.8 billion to educate legal and illegal immigrant children while they pay $70.3 billion taxes a year(which is more than offset!);

(2) The number of illegal immigrants in California is believed to be growing by 125,000 a year, which is hardly an economic disaster or threat in a state of 31 million people (see Rayner, 1996);

(3) The Supreme Court has already overturned a Texas law unconstitutional which denied schooling to the children of the illegal immigrant families, a similar one to California Proposition 187, determining that the denial of schooling of those children would result in more harm to both the country and those immigrants in the future;

(4) Asian immigrants helped bolster U.S. economy, not jeopardize it(Hing and Lee, 1996):(a) of the approximate 2,000 high-technology companies in the Silicon Valley in California, nearly 500 are run by Asian-Americans; (b) 15 of the America's most successful high-tech companies were founded by immigrants whose combined revenue is $22.25 billion; (c) those business organizations attract and facilitate tremendous investments from abroad as well as at home; and (d) they pay $3 billion a year in wages; and,

(5) Chinese immigrants revitalized the San Gabriel Valley, Latinos opened businesses in depressed areas of South Los Angeles, Iranians and Russians also opened a lot of businesses, which made Californian cities alive and prosperous.

American cities, it appears, where the immigrant influx is strong are evolving, not degenerating--that has been what America as a nation of immigrants is all about . The documented evidence and the American history itself can hardly convince the immigrants-posing-a-threat view to be totally valid. It is most likely that the unfortunate and powerless from abroad, without much convincing evidence though, were made scapegoats as if they were responsible for all the problems facing the country in which they landed.

5. Looking for New Enemies: American Nationalism after the End of the Cold War

With no particular reason(s) in them to blame, minorities and outgroup members were attacked and victimized especially when economoic conditions got harsh and/or economic competition became stern. For example, when the cotton price dropped, the number of lynching of black people increased in the South between 1882 and 1930(Hovland and Sears, 1940). The depression economy of the 1870s was blamed on aliens, which led to the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882(the United States Commission on Civil Rights, 1980). During the Great Depression nearly 500,000 Mexican immigrants, with more than half of them being U.S. citizens, were "repatriated" to Mexico shortly after they had been welcome to alleviate the labor shortage caused by the World War I. After the Second World War during which Americans and Russians(i.e. Communist Russians) fought together against Nazi Germany, the former started disliking the latter. Besides ideological and political grounds, Nincic(1985) found a

strong negative correlation between American workers' hourly wages and their anti-Soviet attitudes(see also Wolfe, 1983, on domestic sources of the Soviet threat).

After the Cold War, which means that the Americans' primary "enemy" disappeared, the various forms of anti-immigrants movement are quite suggestive, particularly when we see the current national and international economic conditions and the strange politics over immigration.

(A) The Fall of the Middle Class and Gap in Income

Since 1992 when the White House had Democrat President Bill Clinton, the overall American economy has been "good." According to Bureau of Labor Statistics, Commerce Department, Knight-Ridder Washington Bureau poll, and The New York Times(The Buffalo News, March 15, 1996), the nation's gross domestic product(GDP) has been rising from 1.3% in 1990 and -1.0% in 1991 to 3% in 1992, 2% in 1993, 3.7% in 1994 and 2.1% in 1995. The same sources reported the downward trend of unemployment from 7.2% in 1992 to 5.5% in 1996(it was 9.7% in 1982!). There were 109.5 million jobs in 1993, but the number increased to 118.0 million jobs in 1996. And the public opinion survey reported that in 1993 43% of the respondents said the U.S economy was in poor shape, but that in 1996 only 28% of those surveyed said the same opinion.

Despite the "good" economic conditions, Americans did not feel "satisfied" with their personal economic lives. As the Gallup poll reported before in this paper, the economy is still their primary concerns. It can be believed that there are two major causes of

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their uneasy and anxious feelings and concerns about their economic lives:uncertainty to their future economic life and the income gap between the rich and the poor and the fall of the middle class.

The so-called "borderless economy" since the early 1980s threw American working people into the globally competitive market, the labor market included, needless to say. Under such names as "restructuralization," "world competitiveness" and "down-sizing," American big businesses in particular(e.g., GM, Ford, IBM, AT&T) started going outside the country not just for selling their products but also for "cheap" labor. The big three automobile companies, for example, are going to produce cars in Asian countries(e.g., Thailand, and even Vietnam!) by hiring "cheap" Asians and consequently(or purposely?) by laying off "expensive" American workers. Not only the nation's key industries but light industries started the practices. For example, Oregon-based Nike Corp. closed its factories in the U.S. and transplanted them to Asia in the 1980s. Nike pays only 12 cents to an Indonesian woman employee when she makes a pair of sneakers sold at $80 in the U.S. where the superstar basketball player Michael Jordan receives $20 million endorsement fee for Nike's TV ads(Ballinger, 1992). Many American consumers found "'Made in America' becomes a dying slogan"(The, Buffalo News, May 6, 1993) while American workers who are paid more than Asian counterparts lose their jobs at home. Although laid-off workers may find new jobs because of the "good" nation's economy, their incomes from the new jobs tend to be substantially lower than the previous ones(see Table 1 below). Since the middle

of the 1980s, American companies's profits are up, but their workers' wages are not:"Hourly wages today, inflation-adjusted, are lower than in 1973"(Wechsler, 1988).

Table 1 Post-layoff earnings

Feb. 1994 salary-level survey of those in jobs after 1991-1992:

20% or more below previous job	31%
Less than 20% below previous job	16%
Less than 20% above previous job	26%
20% or more above previous job	27%

In addition to American workers' uneasy prospect to the future economy, The gap in income between the rich and the poor has been growing. When the poverty rate hit 15.1% of the population in 1994, the highest in 10 years, the top 20% of households making more than $60,544 accounted for 48.2% of all household income, an increase of 1.9% from 1988. By comparison, the middle 60% that also accounted for 48.2% of nation's household income saw its share of overall household income fall by 1.7%, and the bottom 20% of household(those making less than $12,920) saw the shrink by 0.2%. (Note: the bottom 20% of American household accounted for only 3.6% of the nation's household income!)

The Bureau of the Census reported that since 1968 the average income of households in the bottom 20% of earners rose only .8%--from $7,702 to $7,762--while the average income of the top 20% rose

44%--from $73,754 to $105,945(The Buffalo News, June 20, 1996). In the same period, the latest study by the Bureau of the Census reported, the average income of the top 5% of earners rose 60%--from $114,189 to $183,044. When the income gap between the rich and the poor widened, the number of people without health insurance increased to a total of 39.7 million people. And one out of four children lived under poverty--25% of the population.

From an international point of view, it seems that rich people are becoming richer by dealing with Asians and Hispanics abroad while a majority of Americans blame them for becoming poorer. It was when the state of California passed Proposition 187.

(B) Immigrants and American Nationalism without Soviet Russia

For last almost half a century under the Cold War, the Soviet Union and Communist Russians became the "enemy" for many Americans virtually beyond their differences of wealth, race/ethnicity, languages, religions, and other diversities(see the entire volume of Journal of Social Issues, No. 2, 1989). The magnitude of their unfavorableness of Russians during the Reagan Presidency in the 1980s was like that any "good" comment or talk about the Soviet Union is un-American. Now, the Cold War is over as many claim. The U.S. has defeated all of the enemies outside its borders. No more problems facing the country? Quite contrary: the fall of middle class income, poverty, crimes, trade and budget deficits at over $5 trillion, welfare, violence, moral decline, more and more... Where is the enemy for all these problems?

The cry for "America for Americans!" can be believed to lead to Anti-immigrant sentiments and actions. Proposition, therefore, can be safely assumed as one of such "looking-for-the-enemy" movements. The present "enemy" is qualitatively different from those in the past. Asians and Hispanics, legal or illegal, are strongly tied to at least one solution of the many problems: economy. In the age of globalization of economy or "borderless economy," without Asians and Hispanics(remind North American Free Trade Agreement and Mexico and other Latin American countries) can not the current stage of American businesses promise a better economic future to them, their stockholders, consumers, and their working people---all Americans.

Asians, Hispanics, and the new immigration has become a dilemma or a double-edged sword for those looking for the enemy. This is exactly why the strange politics emerged over immigration. The split in the Republican and Democrat leaders was the "re-emergence of old divisions between isolationists and free-market internationalists"(cf. Holmes, 1995), which is considered as one of the consequences of the end of the Cold War. As the history speaks itself, the future of the isolationists, and accordingly anti-immigrant movements are likely to be doomed to fail. However, the forces against Proposition 187, welfare "reforms" and ordinances making English the official language also are likely to face a crossroad: choosing between race and class. Because, many of the free-market internationalists are not necessarily the "friends" of anti-Proposition 187 advocates: their main goal--profits in the globally

competitive market--is sought at expense of the same people, some of whom come to the U.S. as immigrants for opportunities and a better life and many of whom stay in their own countries where they produce "cheaply" what American workers used to produce or otherwise would make more expensively.

(C) Race and Class

For many, the nation provides a sense of belonging and vicarious achievement(Larsen, 1976). Nationalism is especially powerful for those people who are socially atomized, self-centered, individualistic in terms of isolation and lack of normal social relationships (Arendt, 1966). If, for an immigrant, the process of becoming an American is that he/she has to starts from nothing(even by cutting his/her various social bonds) and become self-centered individualistc(Sampson, 1977) for a better life, American nationalism must have played a tremendous power for self-preservation for each immigrant, old or new. In the new land of "opportunities" where the differences of wealth, religion, language are enormous, the flag of the Stars and Stripes absorbed them all into one(out of many). In cases of national emergency, Arendt(1966) maintained, a politically neutral, indifferent, isolated, atomized, powerless individual is absorbed into the mass movements as a national by disregarding his/her social status and class interests. We all have seen that in the anti-Soviet movements last half a century.

In the Cold War era, Americans with such diversities lost their social status and class interests for the anti-Communism fever

although the real Soviet threat was very questionable(see Yatani and Bramel, 1989). During the period, in other words, people were reared not to see their social status and class interests as if such ideas were those of Communists and/or un-American ideas. In the fever of anti-immigration movements, it is most likely, toward solutions for the nation's problems, that the nation is faced to choose between race and class. As Sennett(1994) argues, "The challenge and the promise of American society lie in finding ways of acting together without invoking the evil of a national identity[nationalism]"(p. E3). To love their country is not necessarily to condemn other countries and their people or to admire the superiority of their own: the former is patriotism; and the latter is nationalism. And, they are different(Kosterman and Feshbach, 1989).

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